361 103 Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*Hayy* (حي)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "big place," "lowland" (i.e., the wadi which abuts it to the north), "infertile" (mostly bare rock), "surrounded" (connotation obscure), "banana place" (no citrus plants are grown in the village), "little hind" (a secondary crest, see Fig. 4, Sec. 11), "graves," "center of town" (*sahn*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive grove" (no longer so), and "priest's shrine" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to some sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sahn* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general *sahn* means the part of a village where the stores are located.

These portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *jisser*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *salibih* (land with trees), and *mulk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest. ●[421] *Mulk* really means "land held in fee simple." In Mlaqfi, nearly all the land is held in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sahl* is incorporated into some of the section names, but *salibih* and *mulk* are not, so far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Hilwi (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-mashiba*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Hilwi via Mar Mansur (*tariq al-Hilwi*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events; as their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

421 The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *fuq* (فوق), "the upper part," and *tahtani*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was stated that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Maximal Lineage A, the lower part by Maximal Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

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7: Gullah X-5 (1952) 1955 MEI Lebanon MEI

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

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THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

T ASSOCIOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 250 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 257 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 259 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

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In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mzaiyel, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflict or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty comes first and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 258.)

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Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

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* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gullah, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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be punished with imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or a fine not exceeding 50 pounds, or with both such penalties.... The cost incurred in making good any damage.... shall be borne by the person convicted" (Article 35).

"Any person who, without permission... takes or draws off any water in an irrigation area... shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding JD 45 or with both penalties." The costs for restoring the area to its original condition shall be charged to the person convicted (Article 36).

"Imprisonment not exceeding one month or a fine not exceeding JD 10 or both such penalties" will be inflicted on whomsoever "by any negligent act or omission damages, alters or enlarges any government irrigation works or interferes with the flow of water... causes damage to roads, buildings, irrigation works... belonging to the government or to private individuals or societies, corrupts or fouls the water, destroys, injures, defaces or removes any land, level mark or water gauge, obstructs any government official in the execution of his duties, disobeys provisions of published notices or contravenes any provision of this law for which no specific penalty is provided" (Article 37).

In the event that it is impossible to ascertain the author of any punishable offense, the Collective Punishments Law of 1928 shall be enforced (Article 38). The director may, moreover, "deduct from the supply of water to which such land may be entitled.....such amount as he may estimate... equivalent to the benefit wrongfully acquired" (Article 39).

"Any person who willfully gives false evidence in proceedings under this law...shall be punished with the penalties provided for the giving of false evidence in the Penal Code" (Article 40). Punishments contemplated under this law shall not exclude proceedings against any offender under the provisions of the Penal Code (Article 41).

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While the country of Lebanon is not a Moslem country, as in all countries of the Ottoman Empire the articles of the Ma-

LEBANON 421

Ottoman code governing water was in force until Lebanon was placed under French mandate.

French water legislation in Lebanon is based on two fundamental orders called arrêtés. The first of these, Arrêté No. 144/S dated 10 June 1925, delimited and defined public domain in the state of Greater Lebanon and Latakia (territory of the Alaouites) which was extended, by Arrêté No. 299/S dated 4 November 1925, to all territories under French mandate, both Lebanon and Syria. The second, Arrêté No. 320/S of 26 May 1926, governs the conservation and utilization of waters of the public domain. Article 24 of Arrêté No. 320/S has been amended by Legislative Decree No. 288, dated 28 November 1942.

Since it does not appear that, from the date of the complete independence, new water laws have been enacted by the Lebanese government, these laws are still in force.

According to these two above-mentioned bills, waters are governed as follows:

Decree 144/S of public domain comprises 26 articles and four chapters. Articles 1 to 4 define public domain. Articles 5 to 13 delimit it, Articles 14 to 21 refer to temporary occupation thereof while Articles 22 to 26 contain general provisions.

Article 2, which is fundamental, declares that water belongs to the public domain. It reads:

"The following shall be part of the public domain, except where Article 3 of this decree applies: the sea coast; marshes and salt ponds; water courses of all types within the limits prescribed for the height of water running between banks before overflowing; ground waters and springs of all types, embankments along waterways; lakes, ponds and lagoons; waterfalls which can produce power; navigation, irrigation, drainage and land reclamation canals and their embankments; aqueducts when such works are constructed for public use; and sea dykes and dams controlling rain water."

Also included as part of the public domain are military construction works, telephone and telegraph lines, all communication facilities and ports, water power works, works for the transportation of electric power and any public works constructed for their use.

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312 This decree also prescribes that public domain lands and waters shall be defined for all constitutions under mandate by special commissions and that the boundaries of the public domain shall be definitively set forth in a decree issued by the head of the government.

Finally, the decree envisages the possibility of authorizing, with regard to the public domain:

1. concessions or leases for temporary occupation for a term renewable by tacit agreement and on royalty;

2. concessions or leases for longer periods of occupation which must be renewed every five years.

Every year, a list of all permits granted shall be drawn up by the Public Works Service. Fines are prescribed for contraventions.

Conservation and Use of Waters of the Public Domain

Decree No. 320 dated 26 May 1926 relating to the conservation and use of public domain waters is the basic water law. It is composed of 64 articles divided into nine chapters.

Water Policing and Conservation

312 Articles 1 and 2 prohibit the placing of any impediment to bar the free flow of waters of the public domain or the overpumping on borders of watercourse, marshlands, ponds, lagoons, water springs and headwaters, lakes, etc. as well as in the upper reaches of aqueducts, water conduits, irrigation canals, drainage and reclamation works, the execution of which is declared to be in the public interest.

Also prohibited is the clearing, deepening, straightening, altering or regulating of watercourse, exploratory surveying or tapping of ground or artesian waters and, generally speaking, undertaking any type of work which may affect the flow or regime of waters belonging to the public domain. However, the digging of non-artesian wells down to a depth of less than 150 meters may be undertaken by private landowners.

Article 3 prohibits the destruction or damage of hydraulic works and their appurtenances and the fouling or pollution

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312 publicity police, officials of the Public Order Service or
491 police officers.

Infractions are punishable with a fine of from two to five pounds and prison sentences of five one day to six months, or either of these two punishments may pursue the electorate the execution of authorized works may also be punished. The infractions fall under the jurisdiction of the local police courts.

Second offenders, committing a second infraction within a period of 12 months after their sentence, except in cases where their good faith can be proved, shall be subject to the maximum punishment of fines and imprisonment or one of these. If the same person commits a third offence, the penalties shall be doubled.

If any such infractions of the law causes damage to the public property, the delinquent, in addition to the fine, must pay for the reparations thereof.

Special Provisions

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• 931 In safeguard public health and prevent an army floods, the
456 head of the government may revoke or change concessions. Any persons desirous of using water to which he is legally entitled or damages water, drainage and reclamation canals may do so against payment of a sum decided upon by friendly agreement, or he may obtain the right to transport such water to inhabitable plots of ground by the procedure described in Article 33.

Final Provisions

The concluding articles of this decree (Articles 51 and 52) abrogate any standing provisions contrary to this decree and change the public authorities with the implementation thereof.

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313 Libya is Libya were governed until the time of the Italian occupation in 1911, by the relative articles of the Ottoman Em-
491 pire Civil Code. From 1911 to 1942, the Italian government

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[illegible] crude punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants distract from the reliability of the meager data available. Local authorities believe that the mortality rate in children up to 1 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the interior. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 1 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Little more than 25 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between current estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased substantially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Progress have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent [illegible].

[illegible] p. 112(a)

423

621 REAL PROPERTY—conception of the subject matter of real property (e. g., as that which produces rent, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e. g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e. g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e. g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e. g., usufruct), concurrency claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of appropriation); recognized types of ownership (e. g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e. g., exclusion of minors, of women, of aliens); general characteristics of the system of real property (e. g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic redistribution, communism); land values; records of ownership (e. g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles, etc. See also:

Tenure of land, land groups . . . . . 630 Holding 640
Land use . . . . . 631 Income 450
Housing of workers (agric.) 475

423, 241
●

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
● Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2

/For an account of the organisation of agriculture and forms of land tenure and an historical summary of changes in agricultural systems and methods in the countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 127-129, 192-196, Turkey - pp. 129-130, Iraq - pp. 130-133, 189-192, 202-203, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine - pp. 133-135, 188-189, 203-204./

9: Gullick E-5 (1952) 1955 MEI Lebanon MEI

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Mansour Jurjui al-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 1). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land holdings are not clustered by maximal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *waqf*'s (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who closely depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their tenures, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 MEI Lebanon MEI

running around the room, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a rocker-stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is recessed in a niche and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary (*haykal*) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the *ikonostasis*, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the hall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the *ikonostasis*, each with one step up. The *ikonostasis* is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the *ikonostasis*, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the these there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the *ikonostasis* is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in rather bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human head. From [illegible] is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the *ikonostasis* are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath these, on the floor, are two lectorns (flat-topped, square, wooden tables) and two large brass candlesticks which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (*kher*) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a Monqili and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from Shekhlan. There is a priest in Bedoun, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Monqili serves his own village and also the others in the Qurei where he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jibbayil. The priest wears his long black cassock and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine (*deyr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and *ikonostasis*. Mar Mamra is not in good repair, and no longer contains any perishable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhtar, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are isolated from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar Sarkis) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated to it by some by private citizens as vows. Mar Mamra, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizeable estate of land donated mostly by Maximos Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allotted to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhtar are in an exactly similar

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Mustaml Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Mustaml by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mustaml, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634-643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199-220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mustaml formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximate universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Mustaml is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XII).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mustaml, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417-18). He may choose

LAND TENURE

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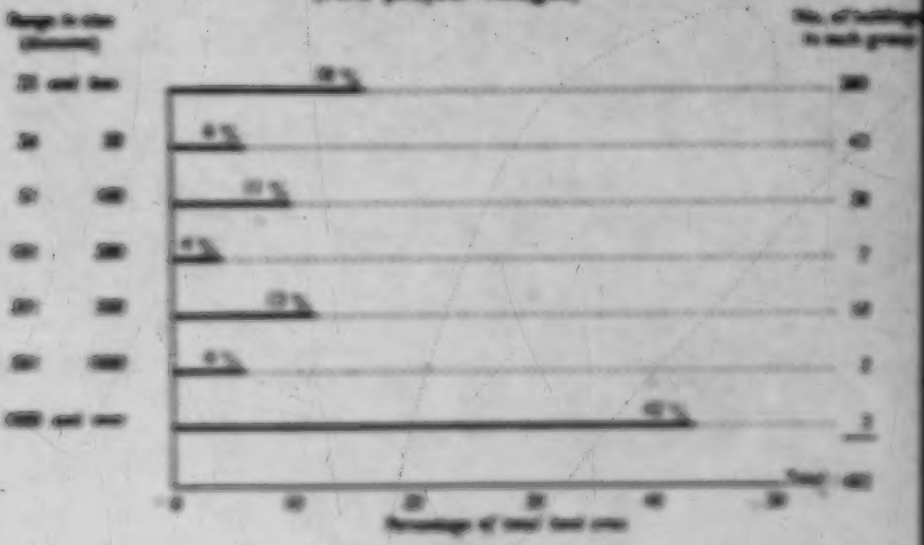

SCHOOLS

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Farm Organization

The industrial farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *hārāt* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *hārāt*. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The interconnection of dwellings is one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms in the fat state require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the dairy village area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanical farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an [illegible] of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 65 cents) for men and half that for women per 10 to 12 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, [illegible] working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the fields. Two months after seeds in the summer, one finds the men pulling behind them a sledge, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a whip directs the sledge over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sahankivsk and Vadivan. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the village included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest numerical group, numbering 1,000 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 520 sheep and 60 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle often by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sahankivsk, Mr. Pavel Mlynyk owns a herd of ninety head of Holsteins. The herd is valued at U.S. 100,000 (about $30,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows herd for U.S. 40,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of cream, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk, goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat, donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family, while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the industrious housewife to furnish clothing for the family, stuff mattresses, or act as a barter item at the market. Manure is important to the diet of the average family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and operation distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the patterns found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

It was impossible to segregate the ownership and operation of the lands of the Kaunia Irrigation Project from other lands of the villages involved. The data presented, therefore, do not necessarily reflect conditions on the lands of that project. Since less than 1,000 hectares of the total of about 3,000 hectares in the eight villages covered in this survey are in the Irrigation Project it is unsafe to make assumptions regarding the latter from facts stated regarding the former.

Land holdings vary in size from an undelineated parcel of land of less than one dunum to a holding of 1,000 dunums. In the five villages a total of 482 separate parcels of land were reported (Table V). In many cases a single parcel is owned in common by a number of people who have an undivided share in that piece of land. This situation is usually due to inheritance. Common ownership by relatives tends to reducing the actual size of holding that each particular household actually has to depend on for its livelihood. On the other hand, it results in a larger number of owners of land than the records show. The usual practice is to register the land in the name of the senior or major owner and then to list the other holders of undivided shares. In this study the information given was on the basis of the land registration records.

Although the total land area is owned by a large number of persons, the great majority of owners control a very small area of land, while a few individuals have considerable holdings. For these five villages, there are of 482 landowners hold 45 percent of the lands. It is also important to note that very small holdings predominate. 380 or nearly 80 percent of the 482 owners hold 25 dunums or less (5 acres) and account for only 19 percent of the total area. Landownership information by villages is shown in Table VI.

The percentage of the total land area falling in each class interval has been computed for each village (Table VII). These data were computed by multiplying the mid-value of the class interval by the frequency to determine the area of land in each class. From this figure the percentage of the village land in each class interval was derived. In these five villages, Sabakhreh has the lowest concentration of holdings over 200 dunums, 19 percent, and Ein Rashtyeh the highest with 60 percent of the land being held in one large parcel.

TABLE V

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(1) [illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE VI

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[illegible]

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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Rs. 500	Rs. 0	Rs. 3	Rs. 0	Rs. 2	Rs. 0	Rs. 0
[illegible]	25	14	0	0	1	0	0
[illegible]	10	5	2	2	2	0	10
[illegible]	15	4	0	0	0	0	2*
[illegible]	30	21	20	3	3	0	0**
[illegible]	600	41	25	7	10	0	0

(a) [illegible]
(b) [illegible]

[redacted]

TABLE VII

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

B:Tanous 6,1-6 (no date) 1942
MI: Lebanon MI:

...nds. May God never bless such a ...sister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assaulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . . "

10. From S. M. Habaiba (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1923.

". . . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. There are

p64 (B)

attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

". . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindiane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Rishmieeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Nejjar to her relative; Iquico, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

". . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

TR/Tennessee X, G-3 [ca. 1947-48]/1949 MEI: Lebanon MEI

6241 He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

• 4228 185 From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

363 181 The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him is supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tasnous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id*, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

794 by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even claim to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

577 596 602 Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to [582] a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are [571] usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by [429] various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

539 543 In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the 571 598 identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

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SYRIA AND LEBANON

MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yield (100 kg. per ha.)
	1937	1950	1937	1950	1950
Wheat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Barley	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grapes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Citrus fruit	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cotton	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

... = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1950* (Paris, 1951); except figures for yields, certain production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1950.)

312 241 439 There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality arrack. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

423 369 The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

433 Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Chekka cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 305,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

must in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 50 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limit of intensification appears to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large landowners, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa' and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatawi* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and one left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

There are some possibilities of raising yields in dry farming, but they are limited, and the main hope for increasing farm incomes is a better use of water supplies.

The second conclusion is that in every district half or more than half of the population live in extreme poverty, due to the low proportion of land cultivated, low yields, and the unequal distribution of land. In Lebanon, surplus rural population is the major cause of poverty. There is no motive-power making for progress: even richer peasants do not invest, but spend unproductively: the landlords are pure rent-receivers: and the poorer peasants are entangled in a network of debt without hope of escape.

FRENCH LAND POLICY

In regard to the *mushaa* system, which was widely prevalent at the time the French took over, the French authorities have hastened the process of disintegration. By decrees passed in 1923 and 1926 the periodical re-allotment of holdings (i.e., the *mushaa* system) was forbidden. Since the work of survey and settlement did not keep pace with the legislative enactment, this law meant an always greater interference with village customs which contributed to agrarian unrest, particularly in the Hauran, where the *mushaa* custom was general. It appears to have been largely disregarded, and not to have been put into force by the Bureau de Cadastre (the French Survey Office, which is a private concession and not a government department), which undertook the work of land *settlement*.

M. Duruflourd, the Director of the Bureau de Cadastre, considered that the *mushaa* custom had a real basis in the social life of the country and should not be abolished. Moreover it had often happened in Turkish times that title to land had been granted in divided holdings, but the titles were disregarded by the occupiers of the land, who continued to exchange their shares as before. The Bureau de Cadastre, therefore, when establishing title to land in a *mushaa* village have followed the practice of registering each villager's share in the land as a fraction of the total area, without attaching the title to any specific piece of land. This method tends to preserve the *mushaa* system. When title is registered to definite pieces of land, the Bureau de Cadastre have attempted in some cases to re-group the holdings

into single units, to form individual farms; but shortage of money limited this process to about 50,000 acres.

About half the area of Syria has been surveyed and title registered by the Bureau de Cadastre. As in Palestine, political unrest made it impossible to survey and register some districts, in particular the Hauran and the Jezira. With this limitation the work of the department appears to have been successful.

Water-Rights. One of the great obstacles to carrying out large-scale irrigation schemes is the confusion which prevails about water-rights. According to an unpublished report prepared for M.E.S.C. in 1943 by Professor Addison, one important scheme, the Tamassine project, could not be initiated, because the complicated question of water-rights had not been settled. Since any big advance in agriculture really depends on irrigation, a settlement of water-rights is essential.

The French authorities have apparently been no more successful in dealing with this question than the British authorities in Palestine and Transjordan. A decree was issued by the High Commissioner in June 1925 nationalizing the water supply, and making all sources of water and water-courses public property; but a further decree in 1926 weakened this wise measure, permitting temporary occupation of water-rights for forty years, so that the result of the legislation has been to increase the confusion.

Control of Irrigation. There is no uniformity of procedure in controlling irrigation schemes, and no central authority controlling irrigation. There are three chief methods of control in Syria unrelated to each other. These are:

1. The village community in which water-rights are regulated by custom. This appears to be the prevalent method of control in all the village irrigation schemes, of which there are a very large number. Several villages may share in their schemes, and the distribution of water is established between them by custom, and administered by the village authorities. Each owner of land can claim a share in the total water supply measured as a unit of time, for example, one hour every seven days. This method is beginning to prove unsatisfactory. The big owners almost always control the best

irrigated land, and village chiefs can frequently be bribed to divert open irrigation ditches so that their land is better watered. This frequently happens, for example, in the Ghuta of Damascus, where there is no unified plan for the irrigation of the district and no authority which can enforce the customary rights.

a. The system under which water is owned collectively, or as *Waqf*, in the northern Beqa.

b. Private ownership by large landowners. This is usual in the Lebanon where there are a number of small private schemes.

These methods of control apply to the smaller schemes. Large-scale schemes have been operated either by:

a. Private concession. Only one relatively large-scale concession is actually in operation, the Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis) scheme.

b. The State. State-controlled works have been carried out by

(i) authorities directly under the control of the French authorities;

(ii) authorities directly under the control of the Lebanese Public Works Ministry;

(iii) Lebanese or Syrian authorities under the control of the Délégation Générale.

There is great need of a central authority to co-ordinate the supply of water. In the south Beqa, for instance, much irrigable land is left unirrigated and much water allowed to run to waste for lack of such an authority.

State Land. One of the main reasons for the lack of intensive cultivation in central Syria is that the State lands have never been systematically settled. Very large areas are State domain, that is, land registered as the property of the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. Under the mandate, this land became the property of the local government. Under the Turks these lands were used for the 'displaced persons' of the old Empire, who were driven out when Turkish territory was lost, but they were still sparsely settled when the French took over.

After the rising of 1925 the French authorities began to settle

the land. In 1926-31, the villages comprising 187,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Rassis was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 4,000 to 4,500 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive *Miri* properties to business enterprises, irrigation companies, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reform in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

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CUTTOR IN LEBANON

Table 40

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports
1957, 1958, 1959, and 1960
Value

Item	1957	1958	1959	1960
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	10	6	8	8
[illegible]	18	15	15	14
[illegible]	9	10	10	11
[illegible]	7	11	6	6
[illegible]	56	58	61	60
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	83	104	98	105

Note: Imports of the System Lebanese Customs Union through March 31, 1960.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

Table 41

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports
1957, 1958, 1959, and 1960
Value

Item	1957	1958	1959	1960
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	10	10	10	10
[illegible] Oil	11	9		
[illegible]	6	6	10	6
[illegible] and Jute	5	6	7	10
[illegible], Rubber, and Yarn	6	7	6	6
[illegible]	5	10	6	
[illegible]	57	61	61	57
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	57	69	65	69

Note: Imports of the System Lebanese Customs Union through March 31, 1960.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

are produced under dry-land conditions. In the eastern plains and valleys, where less rain falls, all summer crops are irrigated.

Most of the farms in the mountainous areas are owner-operated and have been in the same families for generations. This has tended to reduce the size of individual holdings to uneconomic proportions.

Agriculture in Lebanon, as in most Middle East countries, exhibits strong contrasts between the old and the new. The hand of the past is still heavy upon farming practices, but modern methods and machines are making steady inroads.

The country has never been self-sufficient, importing usually two-thirds of its cereals and significant quantities of other agricultural commodities. Food imports normally come from Syria but relations with that country now are strained. The Lebanese do not like this dependence upon imports for food. They remember the hungry days during both World Wars when imports were shut off. They want to become more self-sufficient and, at the same time, to

[illegible]

[illegible] land power regulations as a result, permits for the agricultural use of water may be renewed for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require generation concessions. They are projects of public utility. Such permits may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the care of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserves to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concession and a clause allowing for the eventual repurchase of the project shall accompany the concession.

[illegible] Fees and Expenditure. Expenditure shall be paid for generation and concessions to the state (Article 14).

[illegible] Government Intervention. Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may assert such rights as well as either an immediate, upfront payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-secured concessionaire water (Article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

[illegible] The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the execution of the works needs, servitudes of occupation of private property, the strengthening of dams, the submersion of banks and of tracts of land, etc. The government may, where no friendly agreements have resulted on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 14 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire wishing to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private in-

[illegible]

[illegible] 303, 305

In case of disagreement as to the amount of the indemnity, the matter shall be placed before the competent administrative authorities. In no case may the amount be more than [illegible] per kilowatt capacity of the water wheels.

[illegible]

Articles 31 to 33 regulate the procedure to be followed in the recognition of private titles to property, landmark privileges and the right to use water belonging to the public domain. Such rights may be recognized upon the request of the interested party or upon the request of the head of the government who, in either case, shall establish by decree the areas within which such actions may be taken.

A commission to establish titles shall be appointed by the head of the government. It shall be composed of a magistrate or presiding judge who shall act as chairman, an official of the Public Lands Service, an official of the Land Service and two local notables.

Within a period of time established by decree, but which shall not be less than 20 days, the interested parties may submit to the commission all statements, titles and evidence supporting their water rights. The commission shall inspect the area and draw up a list of the rights claimed. It shall report thereupon to the head of the government who shall set forth in a decree the titles and rights thus recognized.

Article 34 of this [illegible], modified by Legislative Decree No. 288 dated 28 November 1950, permits the hearing of appeals before the appeals courts for judgements taken by the commission concerning the recognition of pre-existing water rights. Travel expenses of the commission shall be defrayed by the private persons requesting such service.